1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai



343 Storehouses resembling the dome-shaped domiciles are sometimes built in the camps to hold the green foodstuffs.[1]

## Comparative Notes

342 171 The typical dwelling of the Havasupai, the dome-shaped, brush-covered structure, seems to be the prevalent type in a considerable area of Arizona and the Great Basin. It is true that most of the Arizona types are referred to as dome-shaped or hemispherical, while those of the Basin are described as conical. But we are dealing essentially with

[313] [291]

Fig. 36. Storehouses under the Cliffs of Cataract Canyon.

the same structure which seems to differ largely in the acuteness of its apex. As a matter of fact most of the dome shapes are sub-conical, and "conical" probably serves Lowie only for a descriptive epithet, for his few illustrations show sub-conical forms. The houses of the western Apache are perhaps the only truly hemispherical ones.

Taking these together we have this form among the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, White Mountain Apache, Papago, Kaibab, Moapa, and the neighboring Tointens[2], Washo, Paviotso, Uintah and Southern

[172]

[1] A small stone ruin stands on a point of the cliff (at B, Fig. 99). Most of the walls have been roughly reconstructed as pens for cattle by the modern Indians. Sherds are plentiful: corrugated, black-on-white, black-on-red, and Havasupai pottery.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai



Prehistoric stone ruins are said to have been built by the mythical beings long ago. The Havasupai do not dig in them as a rule, because they are afraid—the men-animals who built them are dead. Potsherds may be handled, but not used; stone implements, however, may be used as tools and protectors against bad luck. 172 778

## Comparative Notes

The religious life of the Havasupai is relatively meager in comparison with the Pueblos, in which respect they are one with the Basin tribes. In fact the resemblance is very close with both the Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in the relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism. Visions do not figure. Only in the slight use of prayer plumes and prayers for rain and fertility for their crops do they resemble the typical Southwestern peoples. 171 756 [787] [782]

Killing an unsuccessful shaman as a matter of course is a practice typical of the lower Colorado tribes. By this I mean something more definite than the universal threats against malpractice and supposed evil intentions. This trait is shared by the Pima, Yuma, Mohave, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Mono, and Shasta.[1] The Western Apache and the Southern Ute[2] seemingly resemble the Havasupai in that there may be retribution for the loss of a patient, but it does not always follow. It is not always easy to judge from the accounts just how automatic this reaction is, but it is clearly a regular procedure of the Mohave, Yuma, and Pima.

Gourd rattles are apparently limited to the Southwest, being unknown to most Californian and Basin tribes. I have found records of them among the Navaho, Hopi, Zuñi, (and they are probably used in other pueblos), Pima, Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Chemehuevi, Koso, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño.[3] The last say it has been recently introduced from the Mohave through the Yuma. Doubtless further search in collections and the literature would augment this list. There seems to be some variation in the mounting and decoration of the gourd. The Pima, Yuma, Cahuilla, and Koso, like the Havasupai, mount it on a wooden handle; the Southern Diegueño do not. Navaho, Pima, Koso, Cahuilla, Southern Diegueño, and Havasupai arrange the perforations 171 534

[1] Gifford, (f), 224; Tripod, 371; Russell, (d), 302; Kroeber, (a), 397, (i), 479; Bourke, (a), 171; Hooper, 330; Powers, 254, 260; Dixon, (b), 479.
Bourke, (c), 466; Lowie, (f), 292, 294.
[2] Opler, (b); Hrdlička, (a), 283; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Russell, (d), 91, 108; Curtis, 333; Tripod, 377; Kroeber, (g), 63; Spier, (e), 340.

Reliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai



conquered and held all the land on one side of the stream, limiting the tribe to the strip on the other side of the Blue Water, an Apache man fell in love with a beautiful Havasupai woman. He crossed the stream, killed the woman's husband, and fled with her up the steep canyon wall. The Havasupai gave chase, but when the guilty couple had almost reached the rim of the inner canyon, the gods struck quickly, turning the pair to stone. There they remained through all the centuries, a grim reminder to all Havasupai women of the penalty of illicit love.

Such love affairs were not unknown in the village. When neighboring tribes came in to trade, a man would dole out the quantity of food he would pay for the transient affection of some woman of the visiting tribe: so many ears of corn, so many measures of beans. Some of the Havasupai women were capricious and took advantage of these occasions to live daringly. However, as a rule, the home seemed to be a stable institution in which man and wife maintained its integrity.

A slow walk through the village, stopping to talk to the people, accepting an ear of roasted sweet corn at one wickiup, a handful of crisp sunflower seed at another; then, with reluctance on my part, we started home. Somewhere in the canyon walls was a secret cave filled with tools and weapons such as were used by Those of Old. Vesnor, when a boy, had watched old men secrete this native handicraft and seal the cave, leaving no identifying mark. I knew I could never find it, and Vesnor refused to disclose its location. But how adequately those tools would reveal the ancient culture of an agricultural people such as the Havasupai!

We ate a pickup meal, then I sat in our old rocker to read my daily paper, published in Oklahoma City and a week old by the time it reached the canyon. The delay did not lessen the shock of the news of President McKinley's assassination. But the excitement, the hatred and fear aroused by his death could not reach us in our seclusion. We could not plunge into political intrigues and the turmoil of a world that seemed hardly to exist while we lived, vicariously, the adventures of a courageous people in discovering and defending a mysterious canyon.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai



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until when they came to the hilltop looking down to the Little Colorado River, he said: 'I cannot go any farther. I am going to lie down here and go to sleep.' So they both went to sleep, and when they woke up the big brother said: 'Where you go? You no walk long way. You heap tired.'

"And the little brother answered: 'I no like go farther. I go back Havasu. I catch 'em water there.'

"'All right!' replied the big brother, 'I no like Havasu. I go hunt water and plant corn and watermelons and sunflowers. You go back to Havasu.'

"And he gave him a little bit of corn, and that explains why the Havasupais can grow only a small amount of corn in their canyon, though it is exceedingly sweet and delicious.

"But the big brother went on and found the places now occupied by the Hopi, and he settled there. And as he had taken lots of corn with him and he planted it, that explains" (to the Havasupai mind) "why the Hopi has so much corn.

"And the smaller brother found water when he got back to Havasu, and he planted his corn, and cared for it, and went and hunted and caught the deer and made buckskin. Then he found a squaw who made baskets, and helped him make mescal, and they stopped there all the time.

"The Hopi brother learned to make blankets, but no buckskin, so when he wants buckskin he has to come to his smaller brother in Havasu Canyon."

172 173 361

In the early days the Havasupais were undoubtedly cliff-dwellers, for in a score or more places in their canyons are houses in the cliffs — some of them inacces-

S:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai



sible — which their traditions say were once occupied by certain families, the names of which are still remembered. All throughout the Grand Canyon region, too, from the Little Colorado River to Havasu Canyon, their cliff-dwellings, and smaller cliff "corn-houses" and mescal pits, are to be found. Indeed, the Havasupais built all the trails that are now being claimed as the work of white men into the heart of the Grand Canyon. The Tanner-French trail, the Red Canyon trail, the old Hance trail, the Grand View, Bright Angel, and Mystic Spring trails, are all old Indian trails. Not only are the cliff-dwellings and mescal pits proof of this, but the Havasupais can tell the families to whom they originally belonged and to whom the rights in them have descended. These rights they rigidly adhere to. It is the white man who knows no law as far as the Indian is concerned and little by little the aborigine has lost springs, water-pockets, and trails, and is regarded and treated as an unwelcome visitor.

By this it must not be inferred that the Indians built the trails as white men build. In the main their trails were rude paths such as the mountain sheep might make, but in every case they had one of these rude pathways down into the canyon somewhere near to where the modern trails are now located. At the Bright Angel this path was changed when white engineers took hold of it, and at Mystic Spring Mr. Bass had built an entirely new trail, down a different slope, long before he discovered the Indian trail. Both unite near two great natural rock-cisterns, and then deviate below, the Indian trail *zigzagging* to the left, while Mr. Bass engineered a new trail of easy grade on the talus to the right.

Some of the Havasupais are returning to the cliff-

## Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe.

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly.

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes.

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven.

Spier (1929, 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans.

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A.D. 800 to A.D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about

101 114 172 A. D. 900 and continuing until A. D. 1200, when the plateau was entirely abandoned. Schwartz has reiterated his postulate (1956, 77; 1957, 372), but so far as I know he has not presented evidence to substantiate it. Although Schwartz tentatively identifies the Cerbat as the prehistoric antecedents of the neighboring Walapai, he suggests that further research be done to settle this question.

101 114 The extremely close linguistic and cultural affiliation of the Havasupai and the Walapai is well recognized and has led Spier and others to suggest a common origin for the two tribes. Presumably, the conclusions of Schwartz do not run counter to Spier's theory, but merely place the time of separation for these neighboring tribes further back in prehistory than has previously been assumed. It might then be suggested that the rather high incidence of Havasupai-Walapai intermarriage and their intimate association socially have served as a deterrent to a greater degree of separation in language and culture than that which presently pertains.

## Linguistic Relationships and Tribal Name

101 114 197 Linguistically, the Havasupai, together with the Walapai and Yavapai, form the northeastern Yuman group, a division of the Hokan linguistic family. Havasuapi and Walapai dialects are almost identical and differ but little from Yavapai. Kroeber (1943, 28) states that Havasupai resembles Paipai of Baja California. Whiting (n. d., 27) considers both the northeastern Yumans and the Paipai to be "marginal and relatively close to the ancestral patterns."

Whiting (n. d., 9) translates Havasupai as "the people who live at the place which is green," in contradiction to the euphonic rendition, "people of the blue-green water." The latter he traces to a conscious parallel of Cadman's "Land of the Sky-blue Waters." Whiting considers the syllable "ha," formerly translated as "water," to be part of the color term "havasu," which means blue or green, rather than blue-green. Spier (personal communication, 1957) points out: "The word for the range blue to green (hence either blue or green as we denominate them) is yasú'we, not hàvasu; any comparison with other Yuman languages shows this. Even if hàvasú were correct, it would combine with ahà (water) as ahàvasú. Whiting still has to explain the initial ahà." Spier (1948, 10-11) renders the term for "blue-green" in Havasupai yasú'we and in Maricopa xavicú while the term for "water" is ahà in Havasupai and axá in Maricopa. The translations recorded by this investigator were the same as those reported by Spier.

"Pai" means "people" in the tribal names Havasupai, Walapai, and *Yavapai. Thus, Havasupai is an Anglicized* contraction of the native designation for this tribe, and Supai, referring both to the place and to the people, is a further abbreviation. Earliest Spanish and Anglo-American references to the Havasupai tribe were under the appelation "Conconino" in a variety of

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai



# THE HAVASUPAI 600 A.D.—1955 A.D.: A SHORT CULTURE HISTORY

*By* DOUGLAS W. SCHWARTZ

THE HAVASUPAI are a tribe of Yuman-speaking Indians who now live at the bottom of Cataract Creek Canyon, a side branch of northwestern Arizona's Grand Canyon (Spier 1928). When they were first discovered, in 1776 by an exploring Franciscan priest, they were leading an economically double life. In the spring and summer they irrigated corn and bean fields from an ever-flowing spring of clear blue-green water, while during the winter they migrated up to the plateau,

FIG. 1
*Map of Arizona showing the distribution of prehistoric cultures (After Colton).*

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai



where they gathered and hunted the local flora and fauna until the following spring.

For some time there was indirect historical evidence that Havasupai had lived in the area since about 1300 A.D. (Schroeder 1953), but nothing definite was known of their prehistory. Archaeologically, the plateau country just south of the Grand Canyon, the winter home of the historic Havasupai, was occupied by a group called the Cohonina (Fig. 1). These people were thought to have inhabited the area between about 700 A.D. and 1100 A.D. (Colton 1939, pp. 26-29). But a blank spot existed in our knowledge of their life between 1100 A.D. and 1500 A.D. It was not known what had happened to the Cohonina after 1100 A.D., nor whence came the Havasupai, or whether there was a relationship between the two.

In the summer of 1953 I began an archaeological investigation of the canyon home of the Havasupai, with the feeling that the key to the problems in the area lay in this hitherto untouched region. This field work, sponsored by the Peabody Museum of Yale University, whose research program is supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, formed the basis for a Ph. D. dissertation written for the Department of Anthropology at Yale University (Schwartz 1955a).

The results of the study indicated a cultural continuum from the early Cohonina through the historic Havasupai. A summary of the conclusions is presented in the following pages. In order to separate the material into understandable units, it has been divided into periods. Each of these periods is described, as are the processes of culture change operating on it. It is with the desire of presenting something of the dynamics of Havasupai culture history that these processes are emphasized.

*Period I — Exploration*

Little is known of the early Cohonina people or their culture. They probably came to the plateau region south of the Grand Canyon about 600 A.D., presumably from the west. The first hundred years were a period of exploration, when the water sources were being located, favorable agricultural areas were being sought, and a few pioneering families were learning the all-important lessons of survival.

Colton (1945) has suggested that there was a population pressure along the lower Colorado River which might have forced the Cohonina and others away from the river banks and into the "hinterland." If this was so, then some of the people who were pushed out probably came into the future Cohonina homeland in small groups. This may be inferred to some extent from the small population during this period and from indications that the whole plateau had not yet been occupied.

Too little is known of the material culture of this period to characterize it, but already there were strong trade contacts with the Kayenta people to the east (Fig. 1). This is especially manifest in the ceramics. Although little comparative material is available, it might be expected

6:Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai



that during Period I the Cohonina were but slightly differentiated from their Cerbat cousins to the west (Fig. 1) (this assuming that the two "tribes" split from the same basic stock). 172

The adaptation to the new conditions was probably achieved by small family groups, the techniques doubtless being the result of a combination of Kayenta methods and old traditional patterns.

The Cohonina of Period I were laying a foundation for a new type of life, one which was to serve its people for many generations to come. These people were leading a frontier existence and were pioneers in the strict sense of the word.

*Period II — Growth*

By 700 A.D. the Cohonina knew enough about their newly-settled country so that a period of growth could begin. The population tripled by 800 A.D. and doubled again by 900 A.D. (Schwartz 1955b). Settlements now covered most of the Coconino plateau and by this time were even found around the northern part of the San Francisco Peaks to the southeast.

The flood-plain method of farming (Bryan 1929) was probably the most widely practiced technique, for this was a time of excellent growing possibilities because of the relatively high amount of moisture. Farming was also more extensively practiced now because of the greater population, but there is no evidence as yet to suggest a seasonal occupation of the plateau or that there were any non-Cohonina settlements in the area.

Other changes were also taking place in Cohonina culture. Architecture began to take on a more permanent nature, with the development of stone masonry, but perishable structures were still an important dwelling feature. Ceramic influence from the Kayenta country became increasingly significant. Not only were Kayenta pots obtained in trade, but their designs were copied on Cohonina products. As a result of this influence from the northeast, and through internal growth, Cohonina culture was well on the way to achieving its first climax.

*Period III — Climax*

The next two hundred years of Cohonina development, 900 A.D. to 1100 A.D., were plainly such a climax. The population reached its peak, and the cultural inventory began to ramify through many paths of experimentation. These new attempts are most noticeable in the architecture, where a number of distinct construction styles can be observed: masonry surface granaries, patio houses, rectangular forts, and the old stand-by, the brush dwelling (McGregor 1951).

All the available land on the plateau was now being used, and since the population was probably still growing, new locations were needed in which to farm. It was apparently as a result of this population pressure that the canyons of the great Colorado River system were first used on a permanent basis. The most striking example of this,

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai



172 and certainly the most successful of the experiments in this new way of life, was the occupation of Cataract Creek Canyon. Perhaps this canyon had been explored previously, but now its virgin fields were being harnessed to produce food for a growing population. The few bold families who established homes in the canyon at an elevation almost a mile lower than those of their contemporaries were the vanguard of a new era for the Cohonina. They were to provide the necessary adaptations to enable the rest of the tribe to survive in the coming period of natural and artificial desiccation which destroyed much of the life of the northern Southwest (Reed 1944).

The agricultural techniques of this period were enriched by the addition of irrigation, which must have been necessary for life in the canyon. The farmers, attracted to the permanent stream in Cataract Creek Canyon, may have traded with the irrigators of the Verde Valley (Bartlett 1939) and, seeing how efficient this method of cultivation was there, may have applied it to their own area. At this time also there may have been the development of a seasonal economic dichotomy. Those who moved into the canyon to farm undoubtedly found it a wonderful place for summer cultivation. However, it was certainly not suitable for winter living, because of the short winter days, the lack of fuel, the scarcity of wild food, and the high humidity caused by the stream. As a result, it is reasonable to assume that these early canyon farmers went back up to the plateau and joined the rest of the tribe during the winter to hunt and gather. With the events that were to follow in the coming decades, this pattern of seasonal economic change was to grow and become the focus of all Cohonina life.

From the fact that we find no burials, we assume that the dead were disposed of by cremation at this time. This trait probably came into the upland area, with the Cohonina, from the west.

Three main processes were involved in the development from Period II to Period III. These were diffusion, population growth, and the development of new ecological possibilities. The diffusion of new traits, mostly from the Kayenta area, pottery designs, architectural types, economic techniques, and undoubtedly a number of non-material traits, was the initial process which caused the changes differentiating the two periods. The difference in habitation concentration also distinguishes the two periods, the first being one of growth, the second one of climax. The utilization of the canyon, which resulted in an incipient seasonal economic dichotomy, further intensified the differences from the previous period.

*Period IV — Defense*

Between 1100 and 1300 A.D. non-Cohonina peoples were in Cataract Creek Canyon, living alongside the original canyon inhabitants. It was near the end of Period III that the Cerbat (Fig. 1), the first of these foreign peoples, came to live with the Cohonina. They represented the beginning of a movement into the canyon which lasted over one

6:Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
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Havasupai



hundred years and which was to swell its population many fold. Beginning at approximately 1100 A.D., the movement into the canyon also brought Prescott groups from the south, Kayenta peoples from the east, and the remainder of the Cohonina, who up to this time had lived more or less permanently on the plateau. These migrations were probably due to the pressure of raiders. The raiders, whoever they were, may have been forced into their way of life because of the decrease in general moisture which characterized this period and possibly caused them to desert their own land. The population of the plateau Cohonina dropped sharply during Period IV, and by 1200 A.D. they had abandoned their upland home entirely.

Only at this time were cliff dwellings occupied, a fact which perhaps reflects the nature of the period. It seems reasonable to assume that protection was the motive behind these population movements, with the canyon providing the logical defense against the intruders.

During the latter part of the period, when there were no more full-time residents on the plateau, the seasonal economic dichotomy, which possibly began earlier, must have been completed. Summer-canyon and winter-plateau life was probably a universal Cohonina trait. Considering the habitation density in the canyon during this period, three times greater than the estimated density in historic times, one is forced to conclude that the canyon's occupants would have used the plateau in the winter to supplement the summer agricultural harvest.

During this time three processes of change were important: diffusion, population pressure, and the necessity for defense. A few ceramic traits are the only items which were definitely diffused to Cohonina culture, but the presence of many foreign groups suggests that other traits were probably also borrowed. Population concentration, which reached an all-time canyon high, certainly affected the dynamics of Cohonina culture, but the necessity for defense was the dominant feature of this period, touching many parts of Cohonina culture and society and possibly changing each.

From the standpoint of rate of culture change, this period might be contrasted with the following one. Change, as well as population density, was extremely high during Period IV, which on this basis might be interpreted as the second climax in Cohonina culture history. Significantly, it followed directly on the heels of the previous climax, and except for the fact that it was in a different location and had a new orientation, it might be considered a phase of the same peak. The Cohonina culture and society of Period IV were certainly distinctive; never before or after was northwestern Arizona to see anything comparable.

*Period V — Tranquility*

In the latter part of Period IV there was a sharp decrease in raiding, evidenced by the movement of habitation off the cliffs, back to the talus top and probably the valley floor. By 1300 A.D., the beginning

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai



172 of Period V, the change was complete. No more cliff dwellings were in use. For the Cohonina three hundred peaceful years were to follow, a rest they could well appreciate.

During this period the population was small compared to that of the previous one, when it had been three hundred per cent higher. The drop was mainly due to the exodus of all but one of the foreign groups near the end of the thirteenth century. Only the Cerbat remained in small numbers, perhaps represented by scattered families. As far as can be determined, all the Cohonina lived in the canyon during the summer, but in the winter the people were probably scattered in small settlements on the plateau. Possibly there were some farming communities in the upland regions, but these could have been located only near springs, for since Period III, when full-time farming was last practiced on the plateau, an increasing aridity had made the plateau less well suited for agricultural exploitation.

The archaeological record indicates very little change during Period V, which for this reason might be termed a period of stability. There were still trade contacts and influences from the Tusayan groups to the east, and if the historic Havasupai pattern applied at this earlier date, a certain number of Cohonina may have resided among the Hopi in their pueblos east of the Little Colorado River. However, this had little effect on the Cohonina, who by this time had had enough contact with the prehistoric Hopi to have accepted all the traits they wanted.

This period of peaceful stability and low cultural intensity ended near 1600 A.D., with the first gentle impacts of Anglo-American culture.

*Period VI — Anglo-Diffusion*

175 The gradual acquisition of American material culture characterizes Period VI. Living as they did in the seclusion of Cataract Creek Canyon, the Cohonina-Havasupai were able to avoid the sharp break which took place in the culture of so many American Indian groups at the time of contact. Although there had been Spanish expeditions into the general region as early as 1540, when Cardenas discovered the Grand Canyon, the borrowing of white traits probably did not begin until the establishment of the Franciscan missions in the Hopi country, in 1629. By 1776 when the first white man descended the canyon trail, the Havasupai had already acquired horses, cattle, and European trade cloth (Coues 1900). They had also adopted Old World plants such as apricots, figs, peaches, and alfalfa before the later white men began to frequent Havasupai territory regularly.

The culture which we have outlined for this period is that traditionally known as Havasupai, with the addition of the Anglo items. Spier's (1928) description of the Havasupai, which attempts to give a picture of this culture as it was before the new items were accepted, is thus possibly applicable to Period V.

As far as can be determined, settlements at this period were still concentrated in the canyon, with the plateau used only for winter

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai



hunting and gathering. As the whites moved into the upland area for cattle ranching, the territory of the Havasupai was gradually usurped. This movement of ranchers and farmers into the surrounding area may have forced the Apache and Yavapai to raid the Havasupai for food. On the other hand, their sporadic raiding may have been the continuation of an older pattern, on a less intensive scale.

Most of the articles of aboriginal manufacture were still being produced, such as pottery, clay pipes, stone knives, bone tools, fire drills and hearths, bows and arrows, basketry, skin clothing, etc. Three main architectural forms lasted from the preceding period: the brush structure, the rock shelter, and the talus top granary. Throughout this period many of the old customs, such as cremation, remained unchanged.

The old pattern of Hopi trade continued throughout the period, but the items which the Havasupai received shifted in part to white man's goods such as crockery, metal pans, guns, plants and cloth, replacing Hopi pottery, fabric and seed.

The main factors which caused changes in this period were the gradual increase in trade goods from the Americans and the shifts in Havasupai culture to accommodate them. The new traits were usually received through indirect contact, probably through the Hopi and the Walapai. For this reason the sixth period of Havasupai history has been termed one of diffusion, in contrast to the remainder of Havasupai history, which is characterized by acculturation.

*Period VII — Anglo-Acculturation*

The present period of Havasupai culture is a time of acculturation. It began with the establishment of the Havasupai Reservation in 1880, followed closely by the growth in Anglo population in the whole upland area due in part to the construction of the railroad, which reached Flagstaff about 1882. During the 80's and 90's the first popular accounts of the Havasupai began to appear (Cushing, 1882; Shufeldt, 1891; James, 1899), but the adventurers who wrote these accounts were preceded, as is usually the case, by prospectors, who unfortunately left no written records of their impressions.

In the late 1890's the federal government sent a farmer into the canyon, and shortly thereafter a school teacher. This was the beginning of intensive acculturation. The farmer introduced new and better tools, and perhaps a few modern farming methods. The first teacher and those who followed began the conversion to other parts of white culture, especially the English language. The school was also influential in changing the old pattern of plateau winter gathering, by gradually forcing the children to attend school during the winter. The increasing use of the upland area by white cattlemen also lessened its value to the Indians.

Clothing, which had already begun to change, now rapidly switched to the white man's garb, Southwestern variety. Moccasins were probably

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109
131 Sierra Mogollon to the San Francisco mts. and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. The tribe is a peculiarly interesting one, since of all the Yuman
173 tribes it is the only one which has developed or borrowed a culture similar to, though less advanced, than that of the Pueblo peoples; indeed, according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more probably a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito E. of the San Francisco mts., where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former homes of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther E., they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mts., subsequently leaving these for their present abode. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on
● [172] the upper Rio Verde, near the N. edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy by them. Their present
361 village, composed of temporary cabins or
342 shelters of wattled canes and branches
131 and earth in summer, and of the natural caves and crevices in winter, is situated 115 m. N. of Prescott and 7 m. S. of the Grand canyon. The Havasupai
142 are well formed, though of medium stature. They are skilled in the manufacture and use of implements, and
105 especially in preparing raw material, li e buckskin. The men are expert hunters, the women adept in the manufacture of baskets which, when lined with clay, serve also as cooking utensils. Like the other Yuman tribes, until affected by white influences during recent years, their clothing consisted chiefly of deerskin and, for the sake of ornament, both men and women painted their faces with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ocher or blue paint prepared from wild indigo; tattooing and scarification for ornament were also sometimes practised. In summer they subsist chiefly on corn, calabashes, sunflower seeds, melons, peaches, and apricots, which they cultivate by means of irrigation, and also the wild datila and mescal, in winter principally upon the flesh of game, which they hunt in the surrounding uplands and mountains. While a strictly sedentary people, they are unskilled in the manufacture of earthenware and obtain their more modern implements and utensils, except basketry, by barter with the Hopi, with which people they seem always to have had closer affiliation than with their Yuman kindred. Their weapons in war and the chase were rude clubs and pikes of hard wood, bows and arrows, and, formerly, slings; but firearms have practically replaced these more

The
18| women excel the men in such dexterity,
46| being wonderfully apt and graceful in the use of the hand in making baskets or preparing food. The men are expert
[324] hunters, and constantly practice marks-
[411] manship with bows and arrows and rifles. They are doubtless endowed with elements of progression, as shown by their habit of always adopting and profiting by improvements or advantages of other nations, when once convinced of their
[562 superiority. The women are certainly
151] duller and less impressionable than the men, but far more thoughtful, and apparently quite sage in some of their reflections, their opinion being at times sought, in ultimate cases, by the latter.

342 The habitations of the Ha-va-su-pai are of three kinds, two of which I have already mentioned. Often, those above the river are conical, half-underground structures, made by supporting three forks against one another, laying lesser poles around these in a circle, and covering the whole with sticks, flags, grasses, and dirt, extending the front out in the shape of a veranda; or, again, by combining the square and the round forms in one, the latter serving as a retreat during severe weather. Anciently, the stone house, of good proportions, and not unlike the Pueblo architecture, except from the fact that it never exceeded one story, was sometimes used, as attested by ruins, of which several plans occur among my notes.

342 Strangest of all, however, with their
172 lesson for the speculative archæologist, are the little cliff dwellings of stone and mud, before mentioned. Though ruder than the wonderful remains of similar character in other parts of the West, ruins which have attracted world-wide attention and speculation, they are identical with them, and are the only examples of recently-built and still-occupied cliff dwellings. Furnishing clews
343 to the uses of the lesser rooms and
172 niches in the prehistoric cliff ruins, are the hundreds of little *caches*, or grana-

343 ries, which, sometimes miles away from
● 172 the permanent village, and often in
almost inaccessible places, everywhere
occur in nooks and shelves throughout
the cañon. Equally interesting are
342 the strange, conical little sweat-houses,
343 built of sticks, grasses, etc., and closely
roofed with dirt, as well as the bark and
cedar-brush wigwams and shelters, which
[224 the Ha-va-su-pai build far and wide, dur-
221] ing their winter hunts, throughout the
forest-covered plains of the desert above
and around their cañon.

438 For a few years past, the Ha-va-su-
pai have been in the habit of procur-
ing, by barter with the Hua-la-pai, cast-
off soldier and other American clothing,
which is worn to a considerable extent
211 by the men. The native costume, how-
ever, is not rare. It consists simply of
a coat made from a single deerskin, a
transverse slit in the centre serving as
neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of
the same material, heavily fringed, are
attached to the edge of the skin, either
side of the neck-hole, and open down as
as far as the elbows. Save the seams
at the shoulders and from the elbows
to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in
this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit
admirably by means of a belt or band,
with which the ends falling down front
and back are gathered about the waist.
Add to this the breech-clout of soft,
fringed doe-skin, wild-cat or rabbit skin,
close-fitting leggins fringed down the
front, — though quite as often the legs
are bare, — and a pair of heavy, doubly
or trebly, raw-hide-soled moccasins of
buckskin, which reach above the ankles
like buskins, and the dress of the Ha-
va-su-pai man is complete. To all this,
[554] however, the Pueblo blanket is an addi-
tional luxury, possession of which is in-
dispensable to good standing in the tribe.
The dress of the women is yet more
simple. It consists of a long fringed
apron of red buckskin, buttoned toget-
er behind, extending from the breast —
where it is secured by a strap around

1753
755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
391 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamanesses sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

242 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [ These are illustrated by Iliff (1954) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306. ] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [ It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau. ]

*539 that the people were all drowned so it receded. The flicker knew the log was still on the water and followed it around. The log came to rest near Ha?vu-v?gwič, a waterfall on the Little Colorado River [Grand Falls]. The mountains near the falls are barren and there is no timber. This was the first campsite the girl had. The mud was still soft, so she made horses, grinding rocks, pots, and all things she could think of. People say those things are still there. [Informant had not been to the location. Archeological surveys in the area revealed no Havasupai sites.] She got tired of staying in the same place so she started out to find the mountain and spring the two men had told her about. She found a spring dripping from overhanging rocks and used the water to cook with. [See also James (1903, 209ff.).]

● [172]

She had grown up and was lonely, so she decided to make another person. So in the early morning she lay down and spread her legs so the sun's rays hit her vagina. Then she went back to the waterfall and let water drip on her vagina. She became pregnant and had a baby girl. [In one version the girl was impregnated by the flicker.] They lived together until her daughter was grown. Then the mother told her daughter to do as she had done to get a boy. The daughter did so and got a boy. He grew big enough to hunt. He hunted many animals. The boy was the first one to come to Supai. But the rock walls closed together to kill people. Arrowweed grew here. People were always killed. The boy was a fast runner so he jumped in, got some reeds, and ran out fast before the rocks closed together. Then he returned to camp.

He was the one who caught the eagle up high. He took an animal hide and smeared it with blood. The eagle descended and carried him off to its nest. He killed eight big ones in the nest and four little ones; killed them all and took the feathers.

He prayed and blew his breath, and the rock wall turned to sand so he walked down and took the feathers to camp so he could make arrows with feathers to make them go straight.

He lived there for a while with his grandmother and grandfather. One day he met a man. This was the dripping spring which was his father. He had some horses and asked the boy which one he wanted for his own. The boy chose a roan and the man said, "That is my top horse. You break my heart but I have to give you it." He had many saddles and told the boy to choose one. He chose an old worn one. The man said, "You chose mine but I'll have to give it to you."

Then he said, "Son, you must be like me." He lay the boy on the ground and split him open and put lightning inside him. He said, "I am the sun and